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RITUAL GAMES IN THE FUNERALS OF SUB-CARPATHIAN RUSSIA

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Of the elements which are incorporated in sub-Carpathian Russian funeral rites, the svičina, lopatky, privill'e and so on (assemblies of the relatives and neighbors of the deceased), are among the most interesting.¹ They are held during the first and second night after the death or, in certain areas, on the night after the funeral.

The svičina take place in the room where the deceased is laid out. Singers read the psalter the entire night, the family receives relatives and neighbors who have come to the svičina, and the young people present at the ceremony organize games either during the reading of the psalter or during the break between two readings. Assemblies of this type which are accompanied by games are quite widespread among the Ukrainian (Little Russian) population of Galicia, Bukovina, and sub-Carpathian Russia. They are also found among the Romanians; vestiges of them have been preserved by the Croatsians.²

In the course of the ethnographic excursions to sub-Carpathian Russia I observed svičina and, in particular, the games which accompany them in several villages.³ Depending on the locale, the svičina games differ as much in repertoire as in spirit. Thus, where the population is more advanced-at Hust, for example-the people at the svičina restrict themselves to playing cards; in more remote areas the games take on, as we shall see, a rather free character. My questions about the meaning of the games were always met with the reply that their goal was to distract the persons at the svičina and especially the afflicted relatives.

Here are their answers:

"The svičina is held so that people would not be distressed. It is given so that the relatives would not be sad." (The response of a young Holoduka at Prislop); "The svičina is held for amusement. To ne je zakon (It isn't a law)." (The response of a young man of Prislop); "These games here, they don't mean anything. They are simply games." (F. Pečkan from Nižnij Sinevir').

Thus, if we are to judge from these responses, all these games are actually

considered to be simple diversions and are not thought of as magic acts or rites of a cult of the dead.

We shall take note of some curious traits observed in certain cycles of these games. We shall now study those games in which the cadaver is made to participate. Schoolmaster Osip Iavors'kyi described those in the district of Jasli in Galicia as follows: in the evening the youths assemble and perform frightful and barbarous jokes with the cadaver. For example, they pull the corpse by its feet⁴ and invite it to raise itself, and, in order to amuse themselves, they pull its hair and ask it to divine who did it. They touch its nose with a blade of hay or a small pine branch. They tickle the cadaver to make it laugh. All this goes on under the eyes of the family, but the family cannot protest without going against custom. For some time these customs have been on the verge of disappearing.⁵

In sub-Carpathian Russia these games, although also almost extinct, are still played here and there. A young girl from Vyšňaja Koločava narrated how, during the svičina in her village, "they attach a string to the hand of the corpse and, while the psalter is being read, the boys pull the string and see! the corpse moves its hand. And they are frightened." At Prislop I was told that they very rarely play with the dead in that manner and, in addition, it is a vile type of diversion to "figl'evati (amuse oneself) with the dead."

Zenon Kuzelia cites the following incident:

In 1903 the priest I. Stroc'kyj of Synevidzk told me that five years before, after a mother and her daughter had died, he was waiting for the body in front of the khata (hut) and noticed that for some reason which he did not understand they delayed in bringing out the corpse and were doing something inside the khata. Intrigued, he asked the eldest brother what they were doing. He answered that they were performing the babs'ki zabobony (superstitious practices of an old woman); among other things, they had suspended the mother in the air by her legs. This may have, as Professor [Raimund Friedrich] Kaindl explained to me, a medical motivation.

Kateryna Hrushevs'ka objects with good reason to Professor Kaindl's idea and says that these babs'ki zabobony had, in actual fact, not a medical meaning but a magical one. The information given to Kuzelia by Stroc'kyj is so brief, however, that it would be unwise for us to agree with Hrushevs'ka in her idea that this manipulation of the cadaver is a form of the rite of the "raising of the dead"; it could have an entirely different motivation.⁶

At Prislop I heard the following report: "If the first born dies, they grasp under his arms, lift, and hold him up. The reason for this is to keep the others from dying, to allow them to grow."

The latter fact as well as the one reported by Kuzelia indicated that even today the act in question—the raising of the body of the deceased—is not considered a game, diversion, or zarta [joke] but a magical act. And in Prislop they are clearly aware of the reason for performing this act.⁷

If these games in which the cadaver is made to participate are encountered rather rarely in sub-Carpathian Russia, then, by contrast, those in which a sham corpse participates (portrayed by one of those taking part in the games) are rather frequent. Here is an example:

Dido taj baba (some youths representing an old man and an old woman) dress in huni (a type of sheepskin jacket worn with the

wool on the outside). The old man dies, his companions lay him down on the ground, and throw the old woman out. The old woman cries loudly in the yard. They ask her, "What are you looking for, old woman?" She says, "For the old man." "Keep calm, old woman. The old man has been lying stretched out in the hut for three days, Ůže Zahniū (It has already rotted.)" They let the old woman enter the hut, she whiffs the air as if they odor really were foul and as if he had rotted. So the old woman asks them to bury the old man. The woman hires a pope [the Russian Orthodox equivalent of a parish priest](played by one of the boys). He dresses like a priest. He makes rizy (a sort of chasuble) for himself with a pifka (apron) which he wears on his shoulders, and he sews to the back two pieces of paper in the form of a cross. Next they dress the deceased. The old woman laments, (joikat) they carry out the corpse and leave it outside. And one boy stays behind to sweep out the hut after it; he takes a stick, pretends to sweep, strikes the legs of the others with the stick, and to save themselves they all leave the hut. (Holouka at Prislop)

One young girl from Vysnaja Kolocava described this game in her village thus:

One boy plays dead, they lay him down on a drabina (small portable ladder), and by twos they carry him into the hut. One of them is disguised as a pope with a red hat and a cross made of potato peelings. The one playing the pope takes off his bokonč (slipper) or his postila (footwear of supple leather) and uses it as a censer. They all jump, cry out, and run around the corpse. This makes you so scared that you can't look.

Some similar games are encountered at Volovoje and at Vysnij Bystryj. Here is how they are described by Iu. Zhatkovich, one of the folklorists who have studied sub-Carpathian Russia:

In the center of the khyža (hut) a young man stretches himself out on a long bench; they cover him with a shroud as if he were a corpse. Another person, also disguised, represents the wife. "She" stands near him and gives herself up to humorous lamentations; for example: "I regret nothing more than the viko (measure) of beans he ate; don't you go near the garden, you won't find anything but trouble there; if he should rise and take a stake, he'll bludgeon you all," and similar other things. Finally they hold council and decide that they must find the pope, so he would bury the deceased. The pope is disguised in a rather amusing manner: in place of the rizy, they attach ptašky⁸ to his chest and shoulders; for a censer he uses a pot in pet'el'ky (a knotted cord pouch in which pots of soup are carried to the fields). In it bits of cloth are burning. He enters the khyža and begins to perform the funeral rites in a humorous fashion. In place of the gospel, for example, he recites this: "When I was going over the mountain I found a reverenda (cassock), I put it on, looked myself over, and said to myself: 'I would make a fine fat pope if I wore a reverenda.'" Then he begins to perform the funeral oration for the deceased in this manner: "He was always on the road, was seldom at home, he hardly went to church; when it was time to go to church he would yell at his wife to make something to eat; he would light his pipe, go to the tavern, and only after the tavern would he go to church. At church he did not

listen to the Divine Word, because he was sleeping. Now the angels cry around him because the impure spirits wish to snatch away a Christian soul. All at once the impure spirits come, take his soul, and throw it into Hell. In Hell he carts rocks without stop. When the vehicle climbs he brakes the four wheels, when it descends he loosens them. While he carts the rocks the devils strike him with pitchforks . . ." Then two men take the bench as if to carry out the corpse, but if he is not quick to jump to his feet, they throw him to the ground.⁹

Considering these games from our point of view, one might see in them not only a misplaced joke in regard to the deceased--in effect, this parody of a funerary rite takes place in the room where the true corpse lies--but also a derision of religious rites. Funeral rites are not the only thing parodied in the games. At the same svicina one also sees games parodying Communion and Confession:

Some girls and boys are seated in a row, each boy sitting with a girl. One boy takes a pot and a ladle. With it he draws water and passes it out--the water equals Communion. Before this they go to Confession: one of them takes a cloth with which he covers his head, they tell him their sins." (Young girl of Vyšňaja Koločava)

It does not enter their minds that the games parodying ecclesiastic ceremonies exhibit a lack of religious feeling or an attitude disrespectful to Church rites. Sub-Carpathian Russian peasants are exceptionally strict, even fanatic, in the external observances and ritual prescriptions of the Church. So it is particularly striking to be at svicina and see how one group performs such parodies of Confession, Communion, and funeral rites, while the other group watches. I believe that the contradictions between the religious feeling of sub-Carpathian Russian peasants and these parodies of Church rites on the one hand, and the misplaced character of such games when held in the presence of the corpse on the other hand, cannot be explained in any other way than by positing to the peasants a special conception of parody itself, a conception different from our own. One must presume that for them the parody merely veils the parodied object, but does not throw over it the slightest hint of disrespect. Apparently this is the same conception of the genre as was held by the very religious people of the Middle Ages when, at dramatizations of the Mysteries of the life of Christ and the Saints, they parodied these same events during the interludes.

Many svicina games are celebrations of sport or contests of might, skill, and cunning. Among the most widespread of them are lopatky and, in a number of sub-Carpathian Russian villages, the name of the game is used to designate the assembly itself. Here, for example, is how Huklivyj village plays:

One of the youths participating in the game goes out, takes an axe, and cuts a lopatka (a small scoop or shovel) from a long piece of wood, half a meter long and two centimeters thick. He carries this stick into the hut and with it he whips the legs of those whom he finds there; they run away to a corner. Then he chooses a "lord" who seats himself on the bench. A seat is placed nearby. The "lord" judges the loyalty of his subjects: one of those present is taken by force and seated on the seat. The "lord" tightly binds this person's eyes. Then one of those there, a male or a female, approaches and takes the stick in hand. One of the seated person's legs is lifted. The person with the stick hits this leg. Then he quickly throws the stick to the ground. The "lord" releases the sitter and tells him to guess who hit him. If he guesses correctly, then the one who hit him replaces him on the seat. If he guesses incorrectly, then he remains in the seat and continues to be hit until he guesses correctly. This game lasts half an hour.

Numerous modified versions and variants are extant. For example, one game, "eating

oats (viisa isti)," which is played only by boys, is quite widespread. A pup (pope) takes a hat, another hides his face in it, and one of the boys hits him on the back. He who is "eating oats" takes his head out of the hat and looks around. If he guesses who hit him, they trade places; if he does not guess, then he remains in that role. (Nižnij Sinevir') This game is also played in Sinevir'ska Pol'ana.

Kateryna Hrushevs'ka who discusses the svičina games in her work, Z prymytyvnoŭ kul'tury, establishes a connection between the games of the lopatky or lubok (literally, basket) type and those in which the corpse is made to participate:

One can imagine that at first they strove to waken the deceased by tickling him and by manipulating the corpse, in all seriousness, to call him back to life for his own good. When these motives were forgotten, this attempted wakening was maintained in some localities as a game--granted, hardly an esthetic game--but a traditional one nonetheless, as for example in Leniviscyna. But in those areas where more modern ideas exist, a great respect for the cadaver, and possibly an instinctive revulsion inspired by it, rendered such pranks impossible. In order not to interfere with the traditions of the "awakening" they substituted a guest who "died" especially for this purpose.

Meanwhile, one must remember that by virtue of sympathetic magic (one of the more evolved axioms of magic), the wake for the substitute dead may have not only a symbolic significance, but an influence on the deceased himself.

Such mock wakes are also encountered in the games played "at death." Although in the variants which we have compiled, the greatest emphasis was given to the lamentations, to parodies of funeral orations, and to the more novel settings of the funeral instead of to the wake itself, in all these cases the aim nevertheless is to "raise" the sham dead. To continue, it may be hypothesized that, with time, the game played "at death" was also lost. This seems to be confirmed by the game's current infrequency. The awakening alone remains the same in lubok and hruska¹⁰ where they strike one of the assistants who, after a long series of transformations, replaced the genuine deceased at the posydzinja (svičina). But this fact has not attracted much attention either.¹¹

In effect, lopatky are among the most widespread of the svičina games. In certain areas the game has even given its name to the svičina itself. Elsewhere, the close connection of the games with the funeral assembly seems to be well established by the fact that, except for a few very rare exceptions; they are not played under other circumstances. As has been noted by Kuzelia, this game is also practiced near churches on the occasion of Velik den' (the first day of Easter). But this does not negate our hypothesis, since in some Ukrainian villages these same games are played on Velik den' in connection with the cult of the dead.

Consider the following evidence from the village of Ozerjanka:

On that day the dead amuse themselves in the company of the living and they leave their tombs in order to participate in the amusements. Also, family members meet at the tombs of their relatives, sit on the tombs of their father and mother, of their children--in short, the tombs of those persons who are dear to their hearts. Meanwhile, the youths--boys and girls--amuse themselves by singing

jahylky;¹² the adults sit on the tombs conversing and eating blessed food. They firmly believe that the dead converse with them and take part in their feast just as their living relatives are doing.¹³

It is pertinent to mention analogous details between lopatky and the game of "awakening." In both games, the legs play a part. In lopatky they hit "on the leg"; in the game where the deceased participates, they pull him by the legs and yell for him to get up. In the former, the person who is hit on the leg must guess who hit it; in the latter they pull the hair of the deceased and ask him if he knows who pulled it. The analogy between diverse details in the games of the lopatky/lubok type and those games where they wake the dead, and also the tight bond between these lopatky/lubok and the svicina, leads us to support the hypothesis that these games derive from the rite of the waking of the dead.

But we do not believe it possible to give a similar explanation to other games with a competitive character, such as soroka (magpie), kosa (scythe), etc. This last game, under another name, is very widespread in sub-Carpathian Russia.

The boys are seated next to one another in a circle. They take a rag (sejka) and twist it firmly. A string is tied around it so it won't unwind. They pass it to one another behind their backs saying, sej, sej, and in doing this each appears to have sejka in his hands. And he who is standing in the middle wears a remín (broad belt) and they strike him with the sejka on the remín until he has trapped whoever holds the sejka. (Niznij Sinevir', F. Pečkan)

There is no apparent reason why kosa games should be related to the rite of "awakening." These games may very well have come to the cycle of svicina games from another cycle and it is entirely possible that they never had the slightest magical or ritual meaning.

If we are to believe that Hrushevs'ka's hypothesis is admissible, then we can not consider Kuzelia's to be entirely baseless either. Kuzelia postulates that the games in which the deceased is made to participate were simply amusements "with the deceased as if he were alive." Hrushevs'ka's refutation of this theory is not convincing. Her first objection, namely that the players will associate only with a new corpse and not with an old one, and her assertion that the act of suspending the deceased by the feet cannot be considered as a game, runs counter to clear evidence: "klycut, scoby vstav ta bavyvsja z nimi (they call him to raise himself and come play with them)." On the other hand, however, one cannot depend on the account given by L. Stroc'kyj, since it provides only the barest outline of an act in which it would be foolhardy to see a form of the rite of "awakening." The two hypotheses, that of Hrushevs'ka and of Kuzelia, can be combined if one considers that at different times and in different places the same game may be differently motivated.

Hrushevs'ka's hypothesis, that games parodying funerals are a stage of transition between the "awakening" of the dead and the games of the lopatky/lubok type, is vitiated by the fact that, as Hrushevs'ka herself shows, we find few if any common traits between the games of awakening and those that parody funerals.

Funeral parodies could have originated without any ties to the games of "awakening." We cite, for example, the parodies appearing in Great Russian folk dramas such as Tsar' Maksimilian, which cannot validly be connected in any fashion to magical acts or rites.¹⁴

Nevertheless, Hrushevs'ka feels that the sham corpse is awakened in the end.¹⁵ That which she calls the "awakening" is apparently the fact that at the end of the game the person playing the deceased's role quickly places his feet on the ground so he

will not be flung to the ground. We cannot consider this trait to be the remnant of an ancient rite. A similar "awakening" exists in Tsar' Maksimilian.¹⁶

Some scholars find parallels between the competitive games practiced at the svicina and the games which took place in ancient Russia at the tryzny (funeral feast with a banquet and games), featuring "warrior competition, games, or battles."¹⁷ We notice that in sub-Carpathian Russia, aside from the games having this contest character, games also exist with a purely warrior character. Consider the following:

The strongest boys call together an assembly and nominate one from their midst to be cisar'-that is to say, tsar or king. This tsar declares war on the enemy and sends his guards to the frontiers of his domain. These guards go to the two doorways. Their task is to prevent any of the persons present from escaping. The tsar decrees mobilization, calls his military officers, and they push everyone toward the doors. Only the very old are left alone. The soldiers push both men and women. Naturally the peasants, knowing what the soldiers want to do to them, resist, and the cisar' appoints a guard who pushes the onlookers into the khyza by force, and he places a guard at the door.

The cisar' gives the order to recruit soldiers. The recruitment is done in the following manner. In the middle of the khyza a sack is spread out on the ground. Then a bench is placed there straddling the sack. The doctor sits on the bench and behind him there is a curtain. Guards hold this curtain on the two sides. A guard stands behind the doctor and when the recruit walks out onto the sack so that the doctor might examine him, the guard pulls the sack and the recruit falls to earth.

Near the door is a guard and he calls the names of those assembled. He calls any name which comes to mind and the soldiers lead someone forth. When the recruit falls down, they all laugh. Each one takes his turn until all of them have been called. When the roll call is over, the guards stay in their places and the soldiers again chase the people out the door for the swearing in. The swearing in is done thus: they carry out the bench, then two or four boys stand in two rows and take in hand a piece of rag. They wet this in water mixed with lampblack and they make the people enter the cabin once again. Since upon entering they do not know what is going to happen, they enter tranquilly. Those with the rags in their hands strike the person who is entering in the face with the wet blackened cloth. That is how they are sworn in. When it is finished, there is an uprising against the cisar', who is arrested and thrown into a large empty cask.

We are not certain if a close connection exists between this game and the funeral rites. It may have come from another game cycle. I believed it necessary to cite, nonetheless, including some new details, because of the hypothetically established connection between the tryzny of ancient Russia and the games of svicina.

We have stopped at those games of the svicina which present funeral rites in a comic fashion; death itself is represented with comic traits in the games cited below.

Then a boy is chosen. Two pieces of cloth are placed on him, one attached higher up¹⁸ and the other attached lower. Hay is stuffed into the higher one (as if a hunchback) and they place a woman's bonnet (cepec)

on the boy's head. They daub his face with flour and make him teeth from potatoes. He is ready. He approaches the entrance way. He has a long blade and knocks at the door three times; he does this in order to enter the khyza. He jumps from the entrance into the room, he throws himself near the deceased and figli (comically imitates the prayer). He sharpens a scythe near the deceased; there is water in his mouth, he spits on everyone. Then he begins pursuing boys and girls until one of them falls to earth. He mows him or her with his scythe. When he has mowed that one, he pursues another. After he finishes, he leaves.¹⁹

In general the games of the svicina include a rather large number of disguises themselves as did and baba and those where others masquerade as the deceased or as the devil. Very often those who participate in the game are disguised as birds. Here is a game of this type which is called zouna (green woodpecker).

A boy is chosen and a sack is thrown over him like this. A spool is shaped so as to attach to the sack atop his head; it imitates the beak. All these preparations take place in the entrance way and not in the khyza. The zouna knocks three times at the door. It is allowed to enter, it comes in, throws itself onto its knees near the deceased and prays. It prays in such a way that people laugh (na figli). Then it amuses itself by knocking with the spool on the gerenda (the main beam), the door-everything that can be knocked on. Then it pursues boys and girls around the hut. When it is so fatigued from this game that it cannot continue any longer, the zouna leaves.

Now an erotic game practiced at the svicina, the game of did a baba (the old man and woman). With one exception, all observations which were published about this game until now omit its phallic element. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that peasants hesitate to recount this game's obscene details and folklorists hesitate to record them, and also perhaps because these games were preserved more completely in sub-Carpathian Russia than elsewhere. I shall cite only one variant of the game of did a baba and shall add to it some particular details observed in other villages.

At Niznij Sinevir' the game was described to me in the following fashion:

One boy puts on a hunja,²⁰ which is black, torn, in shreds, disgusting. He makes himself a great hump for his back, a large beard from scraps, patles (sidelocks) like a Jew, and he smears himself as much as he can with lampblack until he is completely black. He takes a large hat and makes a plume for it from hay. He takes a bouta (stick); then a baba is dressed similarly. "She" also has a hump and a cloth on her head. It is a boy who plays baba and he is given a stick and some scraps and it is smeared with lampblack until it is completely black. Did pretends he is a Jewish merchant. He takes a large piece of wood, wraps it in a cloth, and puts it between his legs to make people laugh. Did and baba are sent to another khyza or outside so no one will see them. Then did goes to the door of the place where the corpse is. Someone inside asks, "Who's there?" He explains that he is the merchant who has come to buy heifers. He is asked if he has authorization (dovolenka) and where he comes from. Then he takes a paper, makes a few marks on it, and gives it to someone inside. "Here is the authorization with a seal." The other inspects it: "It's no good, we don't recognize you." He gives him another paper even more scribbled: "This is from the minister; it has the ministerial seal. I have permission to buy heifers." And the baba says, "And I have permission to buy young bulls."

They try to speak Jewish; they speak Russian, but with a Jewish accent. Then when he has given them the seal, "All right, this is good." So he enters, disgusting, frightening, slimy, snotty. He slobbers all over his blackened chin. And they ask him, "Where are you from, did?" and he says, "From Poland, from Blekhov." (In Blekhov there are many Jews.) Then did and baba are made to dance, they dance, and they fall down, one on top of the other, the did has a (an artificial phallus, a piece of wood between his legs), and they, finally they get up slowly. The baba strikes him, she gives him blows. Then they ask him, "How much will you pay for a heifer?" (this is to say, for a young girl) He says he will pay twenty farthings.²¹ "All right!" And then another young man lights a candle and takes a stick which is wrapped in a cloth daubed in lampblack, so that it is black and disgusting. Another asks him, "What are you going to cook?" He replies, "A gander." "And when will it be cooked?" the other asks him, and he responds, "When the grease runs from it." The other says, "When will it run?" He says, "When the young girl kisses the did." He points out the girl and she must kiss the disgusting did. If she will not approach, he smears her face with his stick. The did is seated on a bench with his baba and he says, "Jaka fajna telic'a (What a fine heifer)." He tries to pronounce this as if in Jewish.²² The young girl goes to kiss the did. She kisses him and he smears her with his beard. He moves his piece of wood and, finally, you know what. And each girl must also kiss him and the boys must kiss the baba. The baba laughs and smears them all. Then they dance again, they go out, and the others tear off his beard and paies. They laugh and the did cries.

At Višnij Bystryj another variant of this game was described to me. The did and baba build a windmill. They make it in the following manner:

The did and baba put down a pot which they rap with a stick. If anyone were to approach they would rap his legs with blows of the stick. In the windmill did hits baba saying, "May God punish you! You go to be....-ed by others, you stole the mirky [money],²³ you give it to the others and you are-ed by them!" He who described this game to me added, "When they were beginning to set up the windmill, they got in and-ed inside it (Ta začnut sja jebati v mlinu).

In the village of Volovoje the young people at my request disguised themselves as did and baba in the way that they do for the svicina: the did attached a long phallus made of rope to his clothes. The young people showed me how did and baba "amuse themselves" at the svicina. The did and baba danced and then imitated the sexual act.

In the village of Užok an old woman described for me the games of the did and baba in this way:

The did picks a young girl to kiss a young man. If he picks one who does not wish to, then she must kiss the straw (he has a phallus made of straw) of the did. . . . Then when everyone has kissed, the did begins to mow them with a stick. Everyone falls down. This is called kopic'i (haystacks). When five of them have fallen, the did and baba "shake the hay": they fall on top of these five and they kiss them, hug them, they sleep (that is to say, they imitate

the sexual act) on the kopic'i. The did says to the baba "Daj, mně malo (Let me have more, that wasn't enough.)" They continue as long as they can until they are ashamed of themselves and they run away.

The director of the school of L'uta, Krajnjak, told me that during the svicina a large phallus is made of hay for the people to kiss.

A. B. Postel, a young boy who told me about the games of the did and baba, among other things said:

The did descends from the oven²⁴ and calls the baba; then they begin to dance. They dance, then the did throws the baba to the ground. Then they do "such a funny thing (takoc smisnoe dilo);" then they get up.

Here finally is a description of the game of did a baba observed in Galicia.

Two disguise themselves, one as did and the other as baba.... They go among the people and the others grab the baba and feel between her legs. The did hits her in the face, "So, [whore], may the devil take you."²⁵ You have had others, you look for lovers." He hits and hits until in the middle of the room he raises her skirts and he her. Afterwards he gets up. He puts his hand between the baba's legs for²⁶ and gives it to the women and the men to smell and he makes all sorts of jokes.²⁷

We will now try to retrieve the meaning which these games had before they became a means of distraction for the peasants. This is only a hypothesis and, of course, may be but one of numerous likely hypotheses. I shall strive to find an explanation which will not contradict and which will even coincide with those explanations which have already been accepted for (1) sub-Carpathian Russian funeral rites, (2) analogous magic rites and acts which are performed in each locality as part of another ritual cycle, and (3) similar rites among other geographically and ethnographically related peoples.

In studying the magic acts and funeral rites of sub-Carpathian Russia we are able to distinguish a large number among them which aim to conjure away the contagion of the dead. This, in the belief of sub-Carpathian Russian peasants, threatens those people who are near the dead man. Thus at Prislop, "when they take the corpse outside, the relatives look at the forest in order to be as healthy as it is." In the same village a more complicated rite is encountered which has the same goal in mind: "When they have taken out the corpse and swept the khyza the members of the family arrange themselves behind a table which they sprinkle three times with water from a jug. Then they must look at a green tree and say, 'Jakyj to derevo zdorovyj, takij my zdorovi' (As this tree is healthy, so are we healthy)."²⁸

To the rite which consists of looking at the tree was added the detail that the family of the deceased must be behind a table and must sprinkle it with water. There are a large number of rites in sub-Carpathian Russia where water and a table play a positive role. They are found not only at the baptism of an infant, but also on Christmas Eve, (Svjatyj večur), and at diverse other feasts. According to the law of contact,²⁹ the mere fact of looking at the tree gives the person looking at it the quality of the object which he regards. Here it is not by means of immediate contact with the object that one acquires its quality, but through the intermediary of sight.

At Niznij Sinevir' and Vysnij Bystryj the following custom exists: the woman who

washes the khyza after the removal of the corpse "receives an oil-cake (oscipok) of maize, oat, or rye." In Nižnij Sinevir' they explained this custom to me thus: "As no one wants to sweep up after the dead one, they divert misfortune so that she who is sweeping would not die. This is why they give a cake to this poor woman."

But they especially strive to preserve wheat from this contagion of death. For this purpose an entire series of magic conjurations exists. Here are several:

You have to sieve the grain three times before laying the corpse into the coffin and you have to sieve it in the air (and the teller showed how it is necessary to throw the handfuls of grain three times into the air) so that it would not die, so that it would grow, so it would push forth (privorozujut). (A young man of Prislop)

....And if they do not shake the grain, then the wheat will not grow in ears when it is sown. They will have to eat it, it won't be good for other things. (Holouka at Prislop)

Also at Prislop they confirmed to me that it is necessary to sieve the grain "so that it would grow rapidly when sown, so it would not be dead, so it would not be inert like iron."

At Koločava "when they carry the corpse out of the khyza they mow the grain so it wouldn't die like the corpse died." (A young girl from Koločava)

At Smerekova (Užhorod region), "at the moment of the funeral, if the master (hazda) or mistress of the house died, they sieve the grain and mix it so it would not be afraid and so regret for the master would not keep it from growing."

At Nižnij Bystryj, apropos of this conjuration, they told me that "when someone dies in winter, they sieve the grain; in summer, no; if they don't sieve the grain during funerals the grain will not grow in the summer and will stay as it is. In summer they don't do it, because the grain is already in the earth." (M. Bobonič at N. Bystryj)

The result of all these testimonies is that by means of contagion, death menaces wheat and that it is important to find means of making it live and grow. Apparently this threat causes them to feel it a duty to sieve the grain by throwing it into the air. According to the law of similitude it regains life and the capacity of growth.

There exists another magic conjuration for the preservation of bread in the house. When they carry the corpse out of the khyza they all take the bread and look at the forest through the window so that the bread will not be lost. Here, through the mere contact of the hand with the bread, by virtue of the law of contact, it is the bread itself and not only its quality which will stay with the master of the house.

The following interdiction is also connected to this belief of contagion of death from the corpse:

Do not pass any food over the corpse. When they eat at table, a piece of bread may not fall on its side or the bread will die. (M. Holouka at Prislop)

Thus, in the belief of sub-Carpathian Russians, the fact that a piece of bread finds

itself near the corpse threatens this piece of bread (law of contact) with the contagion of death and through it (part of the whole) all the bread in the house.

From fear of the death-contagion of the corpse, it is forbidden for funeral corteges to cross a field. The priest O. Bacinskiĭ of Černoholovje village told me that one day in the course of a funeral, since the road was muddy, he went off the road and walked on the field. Subsequently the field's harvest was bad. The peasant reproached him for having brought on this bad harvest by causing the funeral party to pass across his field.

Thus, until the present time, one of the most widespread types of magical acts in funeral rites is the conjuration which is intended to create obstacles for the death-contagion of the corpse from threatening grain and its growth. It is logical to seek in these funeral games vestiges of magical acts which pursue the same goal. We know of "the very ancient belief, common to all backward people and all agricultural countries of Europe, which considers the sexual act or its imitation to exert a beneficial influence on sowing and germination."²⁹ Among still unedited new documents which testify that the sexual act is deemed to have an influence on animals, I cite an example from the customs of the Great Russians of the Vladimir guberniia. In the village of Oltushev at Malaia Udol' and in other locations, "so that the cattle would not be startled and would not pine away in the stable with their tails in the air, so they would 'calm themselves' more quickly, and so, for example, a cow would go to the bull, when driving out the livestock the masters 'rub it' three times from horns to hooves with a dirty shirt" - that is to say, the shirt in which the mistress 'slept with her husband.'³⁰

One may therefore suppose that the imitation of the sexual act in the ^{svicina} games is also a vestige of the magical acts which are intended to aid fecundity.

In sub-Carpathian Russia I did not encounter any examples of motivated magical acts which were intended to provoke the fecundity of plants by an imitation of the sexual act; but on the other hand it is a rather widespread notion that it provokes in animals the desire to mate. A young man at Prislop told [Milovan] Gavazzi and me the following:

One should not make holes in the road by hitting it with a stick (nabackat^f);³¹ otherwise the cow will go to the bull more than she should (perebihat). The more one hammers with the stick, the more she will go to the bull. (V. Holouka)

Thus, if they make a hole on the road with a stick-that is to say, if they perform a deed which resembles the sexual act through contact with the road (law of contact)-the cow will be inspired to couple with the bull (law of similitude), and in many cases this action really was performed with the thought of inspiring the cow to couple.

The significance which we attribute to the phallic ^{svicina} games of the sub-Carpathian Russian peasants corresponds to the meaning of certain similar magical acts among other European peoples-Slavs in particular-as well as to the meaning of analogous ritual acts among the sub-Carpathian Russians. The function which I assign to these games today--ancient acts of magic aiding fecundity--coincides with the goal of many rites which accompany funerals in sub-Carpathian Russia.

The following question must now be confronted: Have these games always been connected to funeral rites or do they stem from another cycle of ritual ceremonies? If one compares them to similar games among other peoples, one is surprised by their startling resemblance to the Dionysian games of Bulgarian and Romanian carnival (kalusarsko-dionisijskie igry), such as those analyzed by the Bulgarian professor Mikhail Petrov Arnaudov. Here, too, are found games representing marriage and imitating the sexual

act, games of warlike nature, games accompanied by disguises where the participants smear themselves with soot, etc.

Professor Arnaudov explains the erotic games occasioned by funerals:

There must be a parallel between the [erotic funeral games] and the Dionysian games of carnival of the Bulgarians and Romanians. Nonetheless, we must not forget that the pretext of the former is the celebration of a funeral, not of carnival. We insist on the explanation that the sexual act and nudity are anti-demonic means. In the funerary ritual a characteristic element consists of magical acts which are intended to protect the living from vengeance and attacks of evil-doing demons (often the dead). In the case which interests us, we are present at a sort of drama which, by its fundamental traits, resembles the games of rejoicing at carnival, and whose goal it is to awaken nature, to increase fecundity, and to safeguard the health of living beings. ³²

Professor Arnaudov establishes a connection between the games of svičina and the kalušarski igry. I consider the similarity clearly established. The possibility of magical acts passing from one cycle to another may become apparent after a short digression into the domain of the evolution of magical rites.

All magical acts can be divided into motivated acts, non-motivated acts, and acts which are transformed into games or into rational and useful acts. Magical acts in which the performer has a feeling of conformance to the laws of magic, of the connection which exists between the act and its hoped-for effect, may be called magical acts magically motivated or, more simply, motivated magical acts. Magical acts in which the performers do not know why the act will have the desired result, but believe nonetheless that the accomplishment of this act will in a certain case somehow be useful, may be called magical acts not magically motivated or simply non-motivated magical acts. Finally, certain magical acts have lost all their magical meaning and are transformed into simple amusements or into rational and useful acts.

The magical motivated acts, by the fact that those who perform them have a sense of their significance, can easily be expanded, abridged, and transformed. Thus in the magical motivated act performed in the ritual of marriage which consists of showering the bridegroom and bride with grain, those who perform the action have the knowledge that, in conformance with the law of contact, the wheat which is poured on the couple will not diminish throughout their life. It follows that if they wish the couple to have money in abundance, in conformance with the same law, a new variant of the magical act is created with money being poured on them.

The motivated magical act can easily pass from one cycle to another. I noted in sub-Carpathian Russia that the same magical act accompanied by the same magical formula was enacted both on Christmas Eve and at marriages. In the village of Vysnyj Bystryj on Christmas Eve the master of the house throws handfuls of beans into the corners of the khyža saying: "Brrr! Play, boys with beautiful, girls with beautiful; play, horned steers, cows with beautiful udders, goats and sheep."³³ At marriages the starosta (elder)³⁴ throws oats into each corner of the khyža and says, "Play, little sheep; play, heifers--in each corner a baby, little boys with beautiful, little girls with beautiful; above the stove no room to lie down."³⁵

This coincidence is completely understandable. At the svjatyj večur most of the magical acts have the goal of enriching the house and its master so that he would have "an abundance of the fruits of the soil" in the khyža and that infants would

be born there. In the nuptial rites the majority of magical acts have a similar goal.

In the accomplishment of magical non-motivated acts the executor does not know which detail is essential and which is not. He believes that only the collection of details of this magical act possesses the supernatural power. Also he performs every single detail from fear that the power rests in the entire act and that therefore no detail may be neglected. Thus, in the case of the throwing of wheat onto newlyweds, the rite passes into the group of non-motivated magical acts where the executor fears to replace the wheat with oats or with any other grain. Likewise, he does not allow himself to transport a magical non-motivated act from one cycle of rites to another, not knowing if the circumstances of the execution of the rite have an essential role.

Magical acts which have been transformed into diversions and which have lost all magical meaning in this transformation, can easily be changed in accordance with the taste of the participants; they can be filled out, abridged, or whatever. Thus, if it happens that a rite with the sprinkling of wheat becomes a game, they can sprinkle the newlyweds with flowers, confetti, paper streamers, and so on. On the other hand, a game can attract to itself one or another of the cycles in which it is performed, creating an entire series of similar games.

A motivated magical act does not always become a non-motivated act, however; nor does it always change into a game or an act considered to be rationally useful. The opposite evolution is likewise possible. A non-motivated rite may in the course of time receive magic motifs; a diversion may become a magical act.

We now return to the question of a connection between the kolusarski igry and the svicina games. If we remind ourselves that magical motivated acts can pass from any one cycle of rites to another, then we may suggest that since a magical motivated act--imitation of the sexual act--was performed, in conformance with the law of similitude, both in order to increase the fecundity of the people's labor (sowing) and at a determined moment in the year (kolusarski igry), it may also be performed with the same idea in mind as exists at the basis of the funeral rites--removing the threat of death through contagion of the corpse from the bread, people, and animals of the household.

Thus, phallic games with a magical character became a diversion at funerals without having passed through the stage of non-motivated magical acts on the way. From the time when these magical acts became games they have attracted to themselves new scenes and details with an equally erotic nature (in the form of the insults exchanged between old and baba) which apparently, however, have nothing in common with the magical acts. Later, erotic games of various forms (sometimes in the form of magical acts) were adjoined to the other erotic games which, although outwardly similar, have no magical meaning at all.³⁶ It is to this type of game, for example, that the very widespread svicina game called kolodes' (pit or well) bears a strong resemblance.

They take a stick. They have a starosta who asks, "What are you doing?" The young man replies, "I am digging a hole." The starosta asks, "Of how many latry (a unit of cubic measure?) He answers whatever amount he wishes. The starosta asks, "When will you dig it?" The young man responds, "When this young girl kisses me." He calls over a young girl. When this girl has kissed him, she takes his stick and begins to dig. The starosta again asks, "What are you digging?" She says, "A hole," or even, "A močilo." (This is the water-filled hole where peasants wet the hem from which they make their shirts.) Then he asks again, "When will it be finished?" And then she says, "When Ivan or Vasilij kiss me." And they continue their work thus for a long time.³⁷

Here is another of these games:

The game of the ladle (sliskou)³⁸--The boys are sitting in a circle by twos with girls. One boy is near each girl. One girl goes around and asks a boy, "Will you let the girl go away?" He answers, "No." So she hits his arm with the ladle. The boy says, "I will let her." Then he must kiss the girl who is sitting near him, she leaves, and the girl who was walking around sits down beside him. The game of the string (nitocky)--"The girls are sitting on one side, the boys on the other. One boy takes some pieces of string and holding them by the middle, gives one end to each boy and another end to each girl. The boy who gives the string also takes an end. When he is distributing them he does not know which girl and which boy are holding ends of the same string, because they are mixed in the middle. Then after he has passed out the string he loosens his hold, and they can see which girl and which boy hold the same string. The girl must kiss the boy who holds the end of her string. They start again and this time it is the boy who must kiss the girl who holds the same string as he."

The game of the splinter of wood (skipky)³⁹--"The boys and girls are sitting in a circle one next to the other. They light a splinter of wood and pass it from one to the other around the circle, a girl--a boy--a boy--a girl; if it is extinguished in the hands of a girl she must kiss all the boys; if it goes out in the hands of a boy, he must kiss all the girls."

Having studied an entire series of svicina games we are now able to explain in part the significance which apparently was displaced from them due to the environment where these games now find themselves:

- 1) The games which are parodies, imitating funeral and other rites, may be explained by a conception of parody peculiar to sub-Carpathian Russian peasants and different from our own.
- 2) Some svicina games were formerly magical acts, and although now serving as diversions, have simultaneously managed to preserve the obligatory nature of magical acts.
- 3) All the entertainments of the svicina may be remnants of the idea that one must not be sad at funerals because it would harm the deceased⁴⁰ and that one must be happy possibly since happiness may be considered a means of preservation against the evil influence of death.⁴¹
- 4) Finally, perhaps all the amusements are related by the motive of giving pleasure to the deceased himself in the last days of his stay in his own house.⁴²

We believe that other explanations of the games now practiced at the svicina exist, because these contemporary games combine games from different epochs. There are also more explanations of funeral rites and their associated magical acts. We can accept two of the basic explanations: that magical acts are considered a means of protection against contagion of death from the corpse; that the games are attempts to make the deceased feel pleasure in death and to shower him with utmost attention and care.

NOTES

1. In transcribing words of the sub-Carpathian Russian dialect I use "i" to represent

front "i," "i" for middle "i," and "y" for back "i." In other transcriptions (from Ukrainian) I use "i" for front "i" and "y" for middle "i."

[Bogatyrev's transcription system has, for the most part, been retained. Authors' names and titles of books, however, have been changed to conform with Library of Congress standards.]

2. Zenon Kuzelia, Posyzhinie i zabavy pry mertsy v ukrains'kim pokhoronnim obriad' (Wakes and diversions near corpses in the funeral rites of the Ukraine), Zapysky Tovarystva ymeny Shevchenka (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Society), 121-122 (1914[-1915]), pp. 222-224.

3. I have recorded information on the games accompanying svičina in the region of Marmoroš in the villages of Huklivyj, Monastyrec' [Monastyriśche], Niznij Bystryj, Niznij Sinevir', Sinevir'ska Pol'ana, Vysnaja Kolocava, Vysnij Bystryj, Prislop, Bohdan, Jesenje; in the region of Užhorod [Uzhgorod] in the villages of B. Postel', Cernoholovje, Smerekova, Užok, Volos'anka, Verkhovina Bystra. (For the transcription of names of villages I follow, except for a very few exceptions, the orthography given in the book of Aleksei Leonidovich Petrov, Národopisná mapa Uher podle úředního lexikonu osad z r. 1773 (Ethnographic map of Hungary according to the official register of localities from 1773) (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1924). In other cases, some information on these games had already been collected in several villages of sub-Carpathian Russia without mention of place of origin by Kuzelia in his Posyzhinie, 122, p. 111.

4. In some villages the same practices exist not as games, but as a means for conjuring against persecution by the deceased. "Some of the guests pinch the big toes of the deceased so as to avoid being haunted by dreams and visions." Kuzelia (1915), p. 136. Compare analogous customs among the Great Russians: "So as not to fear the deceased, as soon as the corpse leaves the house ta nogi khvataiut (they seize it by the feet), that is to say that while looking at the deceased they hit one of its lapti (bast shoes) (Village of Ortuševo, district of Viazniki). G. K. Zavoiko, Vierovaniia, obriady i obychai velikorossos Vladimírskoi gubernii (Beliefs, rites and customs of the Great Russians of the guberniia of Vladimir), Etnograficheskoe obozrenie (Ethnographic review), 26th year, 103-104, Nos. 3-4 (1914), pp. 81-178. See especially p. 97.

5. Volodymyr Mykhailovych Hnatiuk, Pokhoronni zvychai i obriady (Funeral customs and rites), Etnografichnyi zbirnyk nauk. tov. ym. Shevchenka (Ethnographic review of the Shevchenko Scientific Society), 31-32 (1912), p. 210.

6. Kateryna Hrushevs'ka, Z prymytyvno'i kul'turi ([From] a primitive culture) (Kiev: Vseukraíns'ka akademiia kul'turno-istorichna komisiiá, 1924), pp. 107-08.

7. In a Czech publication about sub-Carpathian Russia, Podkarpatské Hlasy, published in Užhorod, there recently (8 July 1926) appeared a news item concerning the happenings during a svičina near Čop: "At these ceremonies the group of youths amuses itself, dances and plays slepa baba (blindman's bluff), the old neighbors gossip about times past, while conscientiously soothing their throats with huge gulps of palenka (brandy). In all this uproar the deceased is seated on a bench with his back against a wall. The commotion in the room is sometimes so great that the corpse falls over backwards onto the ground [and lies there] until someone notices and protests." I believe it necessary to cite this detail from a simple news item in a newspaper so that, if it should be true, scientific research may verify it.

From yet another newspaper account, S. Savinov, "Obraz žyvoja Pritisanskych Rusinů, obec Pudpleša, okres Teresva, Zupa Marmoroska (The way of life of the Ruthenians on the borders of Tisza, in the district of Pudpleša, region of Marmoroš)," Národní Listy,

25 April 1926, we have testimony concerning games where the cadaver participates: "The rites which accompany death and interment today have, to a great extent, lost their beauty and they are held rather infrequently. Nonetheless, they sometimes lay out the corpse on a bench (or, only if the deceased is a child, on a table), they play cards in front of it, drink beer, tie a rope to its arm or leg, and pull this rope saying, "He is rising, he is rising!" At the same time they are singing Orthodox funeral hymns. This rite is no longer found in Pudeśa, but it still exists not far from there among the Hutsuls."

8. Literally "small birds." Doubtless, here it means paper birds.

9. Iurii Zhatkovich, "Zamitky etnografichni z uhors'koï Rusy (Ethnographic notes concerning sub-Carpathian Russia)," Etnografichnyi zbirnyk nauk. tov. ym. Shevchenka (Ethnographic review of the Shevchenko Scientific Society), 2 (1896), pp. 1-38. See especially p. 25.

10. The term used in Galicia and the Ukraine to designate lopatky.

11. Hrushevs'ka, pp. 108-09.

12. Songs accompanied by games, especially those which are performed on this day.

13. Petr Cumak, Ozerjanka (Zaradze district near Zhorov), written in 1893. I took this manuscript from the papers of [Frant] RehoŸ, the Czech folklorist, who did much research in the area of Ukrainian folklore; these papers are on deposit now at the Prague National Museum. They contain extremely rich material and were kindly placed at my disposal by the director of the museum, for which I here express my thanks.

14. Nikolai Nikolaevich Vinogradov, Narodnaia drama Tsar' Maksimil'ian (The folk drama, "Tsar Maximilian"), Sbornik otdeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk (Collection of the Russian language and literature section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences), 90, No. 7 (1914), pp. 30-32-76-84-113-115-128-129, 140-141, 149-153-162. Compare also the parody of funerals found in popular plays as described in Nikolai Evgen'evich Onchukov, Sievernaya narodnyia dramy (Northern folk drama) (St. Petersburg, 1911).

15. Hrushevs'ka, p. 108.

16. Vinogradov, pp. 114-115, 153. This is one of the comic actions current in the theatre: at the end of the play the actor leaves the role he was playing and shows his true physiognomy. Thus, a man who plays a comic female role takes off his wig in front of the audience at the end of the show.

17. Kuzelia, 121, p. 215.

18. The upper part of the body.

19. Kuzelia, 122, p. 117.

20. The singular of huni^u; see p.42 above.

21. Hungarian filér, Czech halír^v, German heller.

22. In a heavy Jewish accent and by the use of the word fajn, which is slang derived from German.

23. The price paid for milling grain for bread.

24. In many Eastern European countries the oven is a large fixture taking up a great deal of space in a given room. In peasant homes the oven has a place set up on top for sleeping-the radiated heat is a prime consideration inside a cold khyza.

25. A vydys, kurvo slag by t'y trafiiu, literally, "may you be struck with apoplexy."

26. Sperma.

27. Taken down by the teacher Mikhailo Kuz'mak from Paraska Trepetiuk in Zabja Magura village, Kosivs'k district. See Hnatiuk, p. 295.

28. On the subject of the laws of magic, see Sir James George Frazer, The Golden Bough, 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1935), pp. 52-53.

29. Mikhail Petrov Arnaudov, Kukeri i Rusalii. Sbornik za narodni umotverenii i narodopis (Collection of popular art and ethnography), 3, 34 (Sofia: 1920), p. 98. Also see his Studii varchu balgarskite obredi i legendi (Studies of Bulgarian rites and legends), 1-2, No. 38 (Sofia: Universitetska Biblioteka, 1924). For a bibliography relating to the survivals of fertility magic in Europe, see especially the chapter, "Prezivelici ot magicesko oplodjavane v Evropa," pp. 432-435.

30. Zavoiko, p. 121.

31. For the erotic meaning behind striking the earth with a stick, cf. the rite of the Australian Watchaoudes: At the first change in the moon when the wat (a monocotyledonous plant, the mealy roots of which serve as food) matures, after a meal and the carousal which follows, they scoop out a pit in the ground which they surround with bushes and which is supposed to represent a κρυς. An obscene dance of the highest magnitude takes place in the light of the moon around the pit. They pound it with their lances (symbol of the virile force) and doing this they chant a single verse all night: pulli nirra (3 times), wataka (This is not a hole but a)! Aleksandr Nikolaevich Veselovskii, Tri glavy istoricheskoi poetiky (Three chapters of the history of poetry), Sobranie sochinenii (Complete works), 1 (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1913), pp. 241-242. See also an explication of this rite in Evgenii Vasil'evich Anichkov, Vesennaia obriadovaia pesnia na Zapade i u Slavian (Ritual spring-time songs in the West and among the Slavs), Sbornik otdeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 74 and 78 (1903), pp. 389 and 301 respectively.

32. Personal correspondence with Prof. Arnaudov resulting from my report at the 1st Congress of Slavic Ethnographers and Geographers in Prague, 1932 which he kindly gave me permission to cite.

33. Brr! hrajte sja chlopci chujati--diki pizkijati--hrajte sja vol rohati korovy dukati--koziky, ovecky. Pueri formosi penibus, puellae formosae cunnis.

34. A type of master-of-ceremonies at the wedding.

35. Hrajte sja jahnici, hrajte sja, telici--u kazdoj kutini, po ditini--chlopci chujati diki pizdati--na peči--nihide leci.

36. Similarly, ritual acts like lubok, hrušky, lopatky (if one can still accept the hypothesis that they may once have been ritual acts), along with their transformation into games, were also expanded into games of competition, which are formally similar but historically unrelated and never were ritual acts.

37. Kuzelia, 122, p. 123.

38. Ibid., p. 122.

39. Also called oharcyk (candle stub), ibid., p. 122.

40. Kuzelia, 121, p. 204, for a bibliography.

41. In the village of Verkhovina Bystra there exists the following custom: If a widow wishes to remarry, she goes to the granary at the same time as her deceased husband is being carried out of the khyža, turns around three times and cries out: Chop! tobi zvonjat, meni ihrajut (For you the death knell, for me the fiddler!) And thus, by imitating nuptial merry-making, she seeks to assure herself against influence of the corpse. See also Veselin Cajkanović, Magični smeji (Magical laughter) in Život i običaji narodni (Life and national customs), Studije iz religije i folklora (Studies of religion and folklore), 13 (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1924), pp. 25-42.

42. An old woman explained the dances and songs to which they gave themselves up on the "Saturday of the dead" as an effort to amuse the deceased. On the eve of Pentecost after the Mass for the dead they sing and dance. To the question, "Aren't you ashamed?" this old woman replied, "We have said a panikhida (service for the dead), we have celebrated the memory of the dead, now it is necessary to rejoice or else they will be offended if we are sad when we leave them." (Village of Gorbunovka) N. Ivanenko, Etnograficheskiye materialy iz Orlovskoj guberniji (Ethnographic documents from the guberniia of Orel'), Zhivaia Starina (Living Antiquities), 19th year, fasc. 4 (1910), p. 326.